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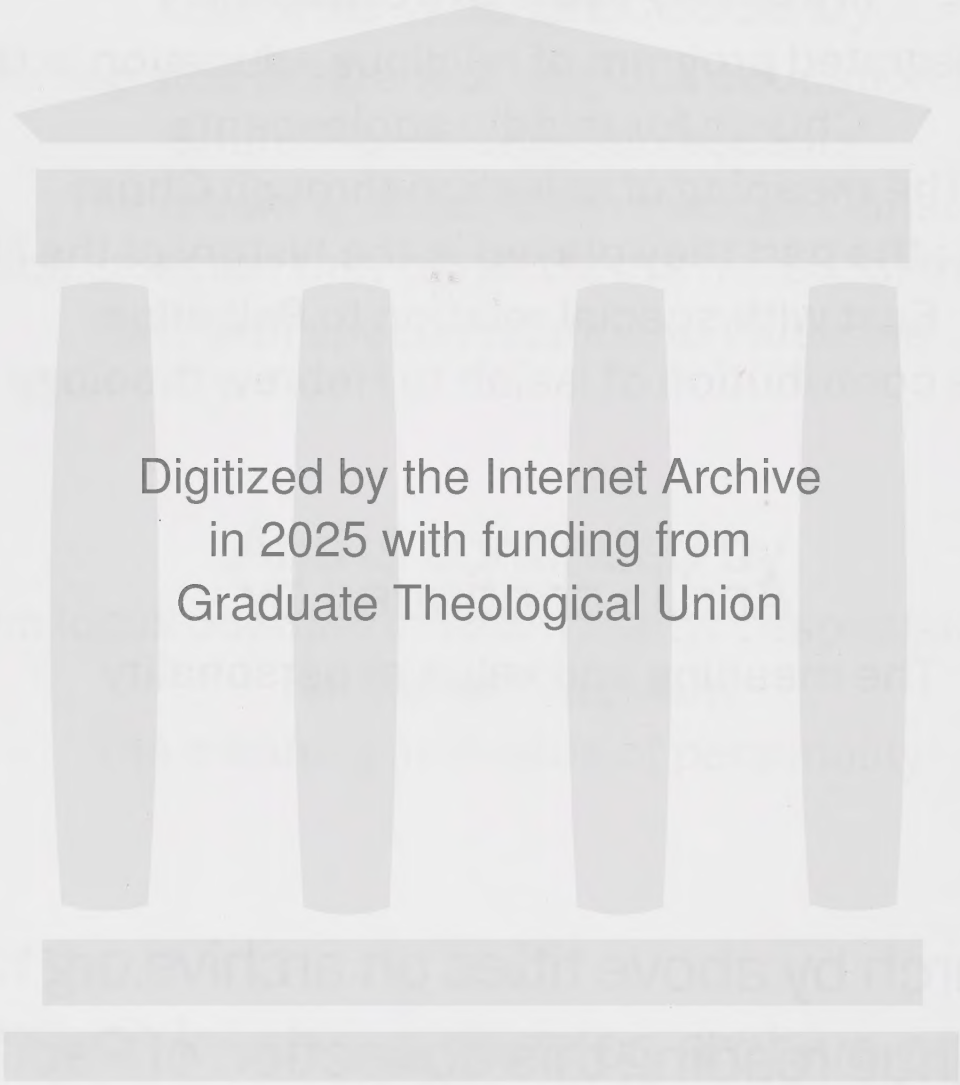

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THE LOGOS DOCTRINE OF JUSTIN MARTYR

ESPECIALLY

AS RELATED TO PLATONISM

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THE LOGOS DOCTRINE OF JUSTIN MARTYR

INTRODUCTION

The Logos doctrine, which has a permanent place in the philosophy of religion, is not characteristic of Christianity only, but is a universal concept of mankind.

The religious history of the Greeks, Persians, Indians and Chinese, reveals the fact that in the Orient, however, the Logos doctrine not been developed systematically, whereas the Western world has developed it more or less systematically.

The chief contributors to the Logos doctrine in the western world were Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, Philo, the author of the Fourth Gospel and Justin Martyr. The Greek philosophers developed the Logos doctrine purely from the speculative point of view, whereas the Christian thinkers developed it more or less subjectively.

I have chosen Justin Martyr as one of the most important contributor to the Logos theology because he wove into his system both the objective and the subjective views of the Logos. He was capable of doing so because he had trained himself to be an earnest student of philosophy, particularly that of Plato, whose philosophy has been a great torchlight of human thought.

This thesis was originally designed to examine critically the influence of Plato upon Justin's theology, but at the suggestion of Dr. John Wright Buckham, I have restricted

it to his Logos doctrine only because so little has been written on this subject in America. However, I have written the thesis with the thought of Platonic influence upon Justin's Logos doctrine clearly in mind, and have pointed out the evidences of Plato's thought as it appears in Justin's writings.

The introductory chapter discusses briefly the life of Justin Martyr. The date of his birth, conversion, writing and death are not clear. It is almost impossible to give an accurate statement concerning these things. Those given in the thesis are probably the nearest to the actual fact that we can find.

The second chapter deals with Justin's conception of God, which is essentially Platonic. I have given a short account of this particular problem because Justin's Logos doctrine cannot be considered apart from his conception of God. The fact is that Justin's Logos doctrine is one way of clarifying the difficult concept of the transcendent God. He endeavored to interpret the relationship between the purely transcendent God and Christ the Logos.

The remaining chapters deal with the Logos doctrine, except the third chapter. This deals with the background of the Logos doctrine, without which it is difficult to understand the doctrine itself.

It should be added that Justin did not consider the Logos systematically, but rather apologetically: consequently his treatment lacks philosophical consistency.

I

LIFE OF JUSTIN MARTYR

The Christianity of the second century was in a state of conflict both within and without. It was a time of religious confusion. It was Paul, the philosopher-theologian missionary who harmonized Palestinian and Gentile Christianity, but the two streams of thought and practice remained disunited long after his death. First century Christianity was forced to combat with existing Judaism, mystery cults, and gnosticism, under the leadership of St. John, Ignatius, and Polycarp. Within the philosophical circle we note that Platonism, Stoicism, and Pythagoreanism were influential especially the first two in relation to moral and religious activity.

The Christianity of the second century was forced to open a channel through these Gentile cults and ideas. It was really the age of syncretism. Justin Martyr appeared, wearing the philosopher's cloak, to defend the Christianity at this critical moment. He was followed by Athenagoras, Claudius Apollinaris, Melito of Sardis, Tatian, Hermas and Theophilus.

In accordance with Justin's own record, he was born at Flavia Neapolis in the Roman province of Syria Palestina.[1] Flavia Neapolis, the modern Nablous,[2] became a city about A.D. 70. It was situated in Samaria near the ancient Sechem where Jacob's well was. The date of his birth is uncertain, but most

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1. APOLOGY I.i.
2. A coruption of Neapolis.

probably is to be fixed about A.D. II4. We know nothing about his private , and social life in detail, for the material is not available aside from his own biographical insertion in his extant work.

In his first Apology, written about A.D.I48,Justin announces himself as "I,Justin, the son of Priscus,and grandson of Bacchius ,natives of Flavia Neapolis in Palestine."[1] His father bears a Latin name, whereas the grandfather has a Greek name,though this does not give an accurate clue to determine whether Justin had Roman blood or Greek,for Greek and Latin names were at this period too widely and indiscriminately diffused,especially in countries of a mixed population. The evidence for his ancestry is confusing,however, he definitely calls himself a member of the Samaritan race,saying "for I have no thought to any of my people,that is the Samaritans", but he nowhere indicates ~~samaritan~~ his Samaritan training. We cannot determine whether he was actually a Samaritan or not,(most probably he was not)but we can be sure that he was not a Jew,for he says,"do not delay or hesitate to put faith in me,although I am an uncircumcised man."[2] He implies that he was a gentile in Apology I.53.

Justin's early training is entirely uncertain , but we can assume that he had a deep philosophical interest,for he tells of a determination to learn philosophy which drove him

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I. Apology I.i.53c.
2. Dialogue I20.6.

from school to school in search of the truth. He says in the second chapter of the Dialogue, " I surrendered myself to a certain Stoic; and having spent a considerable time with him, when I had not acquired any further knowledge of God (for he did not know himself, and said such instruction was unnecessary), I left him and betook myself to another who was called a Peripatetic. And this man, after having entertained me for the first few days, requested me to settle the fee in order that our intercourse might not be unprofitable. Him, Too, for this reason I abandoned believing him to be no philosopher at all. This statement reveals Justin's pure, earnest, and sincere attitude in searching for the truth, especially the true God. He further states," But when my soul was eagerly desirous to hear the peculiar and choice philosophy, I came to a Pythagorean, very cerebrated, a man who thought much of his own wisdom, and then when I had an interview with him, willing to became his hearer and disciple, he said:"What then ? Are you acquainted with music, astronomy, and geometry? Do you expect to perceive any of those thing which conduce to happy life, if you have not been first informed on those points which wean the soul from sensible objects, which appertain to the mind, so that it can contemplete that which is knowable in its essence and that which is good in its essence ? Having commanded many of these branches of learning, and telling me that they were necessary, he dismissed me when I confessed to him my ignorance. In my helpless con-

dition it occurred to me to have a meeting with the Platonists, for their fame was great."[I] The Platonic school proved to be exactly what he was looking for. Here he found great satisfaction, and was ushered at once into accuaintance with immaterial conception, and the world of Ideas, and grew so rapidly in his mystical hold upon these that he hoped soon to come to the goal of Platonism and experience the vision of God. It is impossible to know just how long he devoted his time to the study of the Platonic philosophy, but we can assume that he had spent a good deal of time with an earnest desire of approaching to the Platonic concept of reality, for his Apology and Dialogue show a strong reflection of Platonism.

Thus Justin became the first great Christian Platonist and he himself stood as a bridge between the Greek and Christian philosophy by making the Platonic concepts of soul, immortality and God along with the Logos doctrine the four corner stones in the Christian theology.

If Justin confined himself only Platonic philosophy, perhaps he could not have obtained such a pre-eminent place in the history of the Christian Thought, but fortunately God had chosen him to perform a great dramatic role in the defence of Christianity, and to pilot the disheartened Christians in time of a great need.

I. Dialogue with Trypho, 2.

His conversion was very dramatic and mysterious. St.Paul's conversion was an emotional one having psychological factor working within it, but Justin's was an intellectual conversion. It was more rational than mystical. Its motive was the philosophical truth which he was seeking for years, though we must bear in mind that the conversion indicates a trait of spiritual hunger in Justin also.

The story of his conversion to Christianity has long been regarded by many scholars as an idealization of Justin's actual experience. The passage in the Dialogue with Trypho is a dramatization of the relation between Christianity and philosophy; and reveals Justin's Platonic interest as vividly as possible. It also relates one's adventures in passing from school to school, and finally to the Christian school, in order to criticize each school by the adventures related. Helm has pointed out a remarkable parallel between this account of Justin and Lucian's Menippus or Necromancy(cc.4-6), a contemporary price of writing.[I] Here Menippus describes himself as having gone through several schools of philosophy, and as having given them all up because their mutual contradictions convinced him that none could speak with authority. Helm, however, states that there is no interdependence, but only the conventionalization of the literary form.

The same form perhaps derived from the Greeks. The similarity between Lucian and Justin does not give any criterion for the proof of Justin's conversion, though it gives a vivid

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I. Helm, "Lucian and Menippus", PP.40.

picture of Justin's philosophical quest, which obviously shows the Platonic influence upon his thought.

After much discourse the mysterious stranger vanished leaving with him as instructions, the study of the prophets, and association with the followers of Christ. When he had spoken these and many other things, says Justin, " which there is no time for mentioning at present, he went away, bidding me attend to them; and I have not seen him since. But straightway a flame was kindled in my soul; and love of the prophets, and those men who are friends of Christ, possessed me; and whilst revolving his words in my mind, I found this philosophy alone to be safe and profitable."[1] His heart had been unconciously prepared for communion with the Christian church, and as soon as the intellectual bond that connected him with the Platonic school was severed he became a fervent and uncompromising disciple of Christ. One another motive which he records to have affected his conversion was his wondering admiration at the steadfastness of Christian under persecution. He says," when I was still attached to the doctrine of Plato, and used to hear the accusations which were hurled against Christians, and saw them perfectly fearless in the face of death, and of all that is terrible, I understood that it was impossible that they should be living all the time a life of wickedness and lust."[2]

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1. Justin Martyr" Dialogue with Trypho, CH.8.
2. Apology 2, I2.

This appeal he continually brings to bear upon others in his apologies showing that he was deeply impressed by the Christians' strong conviction of God.

The year of Justin's conversion is uncertain. It cannot have been at Flavia Neapolis. Either Ephesus or Alexandria was the most probable place. The determination of it is almost impossible, and an insignificant problem to pursue, but we must notice that Justin devoted his life thenceforth to the service of his master in the true apostlic spirit, though he retained his philosophic garb, the mantle which had long been the uniform of the love of wisdom, but the wisdom he now served was the wisdom of God and not the wisdom of man.

Justin Martyr was a lover of travel. Tatian, his disciple, tells us how he had travelled over many lands, had explored all the wisdom of the Greeks, had tried many forms of heathen worship, and had sought admittance to all the mysteries before the light of Christianity broke upon him.

He kept on travelling even after his conversion, and acquired his knowledge of the Christian religion by immediate contact with the Christian life, not at this point and that, but over a wide range, and his description of Christian worship is of priceless value, for the worship he describes is the worship of the church universal. Eusibius states that he came to Rome and stayed there for sometime.[I]

I.Eusibius, H.E. 4.2.

When we come to form an adequate conception of Justin's work we find it almost impossible, though we can assume that it was mainly polemic and apologetic. His time was known as the time of the apologists. It is, then, natural for him to take up the task of defending Christianity, and the necessary warfare against Judaism, Paganism, and heresy.

It is historically certain that in the time of Justin the Jewish reaction against Christianty had reached its height. The Christians suffered from especilly during the time of the Jewish revolt under Hardian. There were bitter antagonisms between the Jewish and the Christians, but a still more dangerous enemy was the heathen. Up to the time of Trajan the Christian religion had no recognized existence except as an obscure sect of Judaism, and there was no definite conflict between the church and the state, but in the reign of Trajan the Christian religion made itself felt as a power. Thenceforth Trajan, Hardian, Antonius Pius, Marcus Aurelius, all opposed the spread of the Christian faith. The state demanded that every religion be licenced, and naturalized, but the Christians had no country, nor temples, nor altar, nor images, nor sacrifices a fact which aroused the suspicion of the populace, and made them say that the Christian belief was not a religion. Justin's third battle line was the heretics. His native town in Samaria was one of the strong centers of the Heretics.

Simon Magnus, and Meander were the champion heretics in Samaria. It is a most probable belief that Justin came into personal contact with marcion, and Valentinus, the strongest exponents of the Gnosticism.

Justin's immediate task was to defend Christianity from the attack of these opponents. We do not know the immediate result of his work, but we do know that Justin laid a firm foundation of Christian thought, and clarified the differences between Judaism and Christianity, the Pagan God and the Christian God. Justin's earnest effort, however, did not produce a specific result, but his martyrdom gave a tremendous influence to his followers, and inspired them to consolidate the Christian belief with a more organized thought.

The secret cause of his arrest is regarded by Eusibius to have been the enmity of an opponent whom he had convicted of ignorance, Crescens the Cynic.[1] Tatian writes " Crescens who made himself a nest in Rome, while proffessing to despise death, proved his fear of it by scheming to bring Justin and myself to death as to an evil thing."[2]

Justin knew the consequences of his attack upon Crescens, His Martyrdom took place in the reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucias Verus, under the prefect Rusticus. Justin, on examination before Rusticus, professes to have found the final truth in Christianity, after exploring all other systems.

I. Eusibus, H.E.4.16.
2. Oratio, C.32.

He spoke with a burning faith when Rusticus threatened the Christians with death, " Do what you will, for we are Christians, and do not sacrifice to idols."[I] Rusticus was angered, and pronounced the sentence, " Let those who have refused to sacrifice to the gods and to yield to the command of the emperor be scourged, and led away to suffer the punishment of decapitation according to the laws."[2]

The date of martyrdom commonly given is I66 A.D. Aube puts it in the first months of I63. Eusibius thinks that Justin suffered shortly after having written his second apology. The date of the second apology falls either in I60 or before March I6I. The exact time of his martyrdom, however, can not be determined, but A.D.I63 seems more probable than I66.

Justin's literary activity seems to have been very active and popular. Both Irenaeus and Eusibius furnished us light upon his literary activity as well as his literary genius.[3] The following works which preserve Justin's name well illustrate his fame as a writer and his activity in general:

I. Apology addressed to Antonius pius
2. Apology addressed to Roman Senate
3. Dialogue with Trypho the Jew
4. Addressed to the Greeks
5. Hortatory address to the Greeks
6. On the unity of God
7. To Diognetus
8. A fragment on the resurrection
9. Exposition of the truth
I0. Letter to Zenas and Serenus
II. Refutation of certain Aristotelian Doctrine
I2. Questions and Answers to the orthodox
I3. Christian questions asked of the Greeks.

I. The Martyrdom of the holy Martyrs, CH.4,II,I8.
2. Ibid CH,5.
3. Iren. Ado. Haer.Iv.vi.2; Eus. Early History IV.II,I3.

Of these only the two Apologies and the Dialogue can be accepted as indubitably genuine. Some include the 'Fragment on the resurrection' on the ground that it might legitimately be regarded as an elaboration of ideas expressed in the genuine writings. The genuineness of the three works is based almost entirely upon a single manuscript 'Paris 450' written in 1364. The date of the first Apology is commonly accepted as about 154 or 155 A.D.

The second Apology is an appendix to the First Apology, and must have been written shortly after the First Apology, perhaps in 160 or 161 A.D.

The Dialogue is much longer than the two Apologies together. The date of the Dialogue is not certain, though most critics agree that it falls between a year after the Apology and his death. It is written in the Platonic fashion. Some scholars made a clear distinction between the background of the Apologies and the Dialogue, asserting that the former rested upon the philosophy of Hellenistic Judaism, and the latter upon Platonism, but such a distinction cannot be made as far as my knowledge goes, for the Apologies too involve many Platonic thoughts. It is, however, safe to say that the Dialogue has more of a Platonic character than the Apologies.

Returning now to Justin's life, allow me to summalize his place in Christian history. The ancient church speaks of him very highly. Tatian regards him as 'ὁ θαυμασιώτατος', Tertulian puts him among the 'VIRI [illegible]

INSTRUCTOR', and Methodius counts him not far below the Apostles.

Justin received the surnames of 'Philosopher and Martyr' soon after his death, for he declared that he had found the only true philosophy in the Christian faith. It is an obvious fact that the fathers of the succeeding generation, such as Irenaeus and Tertulian, borrowed largely from his writings, and we all know that Eusibius expresses his intense admiration for him.

He was a man of earnest thought, of apostolic zeal, of immovable faith, of liberal nature, with an extraordinarily philosophic mind. Though he was more practical than theoretical, yet he did not lose the deep speculative attitude throughout his life. He was the first great pioneer who made a path from philosophy to Christianity, and demonstrated the philosophical truth of the Christianity.

Justin's theology was the theology of the heart. His faith was no mere intellectual faith, no dogmatic craze, no day-dream of quietism, but it was grounded upon the principle of moral regeneration. He was the lover of the truth, the true philosopher in the Platonic sense, with the uttermost courage and a just life, and he fought courageously against the current cults and the imperial suppression. If we investigate Justin's thought purely from the scholarly point of view, we find many inconcistencies in his thought and his understanding of the Scriptures, particularly the Old Testament. His style of writing, offers much to criticism, but these things are minor when

we compare them with his actual contribution to Christianity.

Now in concluding the life of Justin Martyr, let me summalize briefly his essential points of theology.

Justin gave a distinct place to Christ and conceived Him as the Son, begotten of God and emphasized what Professor John Wright Buckham calls the "pre-present" character of Christ, because he hoped to make a distinction between God the Father and Jesus Christ; and to give a distinct personality to Jesus Christ. Christ came from God, but was not the Father Himself.

To Justin all men are endowed with free will, and are sinful. Men are sinners not because of their inherited nature, but because of their ignorance. Since men have free will, and have no inherited evil character, they may free themselves from sin. Christ the Logos and the rational nature in men are the light, or power, which redeem corruptible nature of men if they will to choose the righteous life. Men ought to know, then, the moral and righteous nature of God. To know Justice is to know God. To know God is to repent of one's own shortcoming. To repent before God is to receive the forgiveness of God. The forgiveness of God gives real freedom, joy, and hope to all men. The essential condition of salvation is therefore repentance and obedience to the law of God. The further condition of salvation is the acceptance of Jesus Christ, the Redeemer.

Baptism brings not only remission of sins but also regeneration. However, Justin did not stress Baptism as much as repentance. Since men endowed with free will and the spermatic

logos, they are able to achieve salvation. Justin, therefore, believes in salvation as man's own achievement.

To Justin the cross is the symbol of power. Jesus died on the cross for the sake of the human race. The blood of Jesus signifies the cleansing of the sins of those who believe in Him.

Justin believes in the immortality of the soul, but his immortality cannot be conceived in the Platonic sense only. The soul is not self-existent, and not immortal in itself, yet never perishes. The immortal nature of the soul is conditioned by the divine will. The existence of the soul is possible only in God the Father. It is immortal in God but not independent from God.

Justin,like other apologists, stressed the monotheistic cosmology, the highest morality and righteousness ,and redemption through Christ Jesus.

II

JUSTIN'S CONCEPTION OF GOD

The Greek apologists were the real organizers of Christian theology to which Justin was a most important contributor. up to his time the idea of God was uncritical among the Christians. At the time of Justin, the Stoic conception of immanence , in which God was conceived of in a sense made up out of the totality of material phenomena, was a quite prevalent thought. Justin who challenged Stoicism says,that "God must not be identified with the things which are ever changing, altering and dissolving into the same thing,"[1] but God must be unchangeable and eternal.[2] The Stoics had adopted Heraclitean doctrine of eternal Flux, and believed that the world as a whole , which was identical with Deity, must not be thought of as Static, but as totality engaged in a great moment and change.

The materialistic view of Stoicism was ruthlessly attacked by Justin, and he emphasized the transcendent,unchangeable, and eternal nature of God. In the Dialogue he says in referrence to Genesis XVIII.2, "You must not imagine that the unbegotten God Himself came down or went up from any place. For the ineffable Father and Lord of all neither has come to any place,nor walks, nor sleeps, nor rises up, but remains in

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I. Apology II.7,9.
2. Ibid. I.II,4. Cf.Plato's Immaterial principle and influence. Timaeus 28.

his own place, wherever that is, quick to behold and quick to hear, having neither eyes, nor ears, but being of indescribable might; and he sees all thing and knows all thing, and none of us escapes his observation; and he is not moved or confined to a spot in the whole world, for he existed before the world was made."[I] Here in this passage Justin presents God as transcendent , unchangeable, non-special, yet all knowing, and the great causal factor of the created world.

Justin could not see a valid philosophical reasonableness in the Stoic conception of God. He was also dissatisfied with the Judaistic view of God and immortality, for it has a materialistic aspect (from a strict philosophical point of view). Justin found a great satisfaction in Platonism because of its immaterial principle. Its interpretation of reality has a sound philosophical basis, and made a clear distinction between the true reality which is forever unchangeable and the things which are changeable. In Timaeus(28) Plato says " that which is apprehended by intelligence and reason is always in the same state; but that which is conceived by opinion with the help of sensation and without reason is always in a proces of becoming and perishing and never really is." The unchangeable supreme reality is the cause of the created world, and cannot be known by the senses. As Timaeus puts it, " but the father and maker of all this universe is past finding out; and even if we found him, to

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I. Dialogue I27.

tell of him to all men would be impossible."[1] God is knowable, but not in the sense of scientific description, but rather in terms of understanding which involves many indescribable elements in the process of knowing.

Justin's conception of a transcendent, omniscient, unchangeable, eternal, non-spacial and spiritual God reveals the fact that he recieved a tremendous influence from Plato, espacially from Timaeus.[2] The non-spacial character of God is, however, expounded by Philo, and also by the Author of the forth Gospel.[3]

In regard to the location of God Justin says simply,"But He remains in his own place, wherever that may be," yet he refers to God sometimes as above the heavens,[4] and sometimes as in the heavens.[5] Justin's idea in relation to the locality of God is to show God's transcendence and the impossibility of God's appearance in theophanies. Justin denies that God is in any sense composite particularly in the Dialogue(II4) and Apology(I.9). He means, however, that God has not members, nor himself is in human form. He is as, Plato holds, of a highly spiritualized transcendent form.

Justin used the term unbegotten (ἀγέννητος) in order to make a clear distinction between the transcendent God and all other beings. Both Plato and Philo often used the term 'no

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I. Timaeus 28C, Rep. II.380.
2. Timaeus 28 ff. Laws CH.IO.
3. John 4.2I-24.
4. Dialogue 56, I; 60,2.
5. Ibid. I27. 5; I29,I.

beginning'(ἀγένητος), but the term ἀγέννητος was in common use by Justin. It was used also by Aristotle.[I] The term is, however, narrower than ἀγένητος for the ἀγέννητος is usually applied for an exsistence without exterior service. In this sense Justin's use of ἀγέννητος is inaccurate to express the nature of transcendent God, but it is very useful in making the distinction between God the Father and Son. The term is, however, perfectly appropriate to use of God, for he is the self-caused Being. In this sense Justin was right. ἀγένητος , " no beginning" is useful in treating the problem of Christology especially in relation to the problem of the virgin birth.

Justin further discusses God's namelessness in relation to " unbegotten". In Apology(II.6) he says, " But to the Father of all, who is unbegotten, there is no name given——but these words, Father, Lord, God, Creator,and Master are not names,but appellations derived from his good deeds and function." Justin's view is then, that ἀγέννητος ,or unbegotten, is a mere opinion implanted in the nature of men of a thing that can hardly be explained. It can not be named because God came into being from no external impulse. Justin mentions the namelessness and unutterableness of God in the first Apology.[2] It seems to me that Justin may have derived the idea from Timaeus 28, for Plato too mentioned the same idea dimly in this passage. The thought of God as nameless because he is unutterable, and

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I. Metaphysico 999. B.7,FF.
2. Apology I. 63.I.

unbegotten is also expressed by Philo.[1] It is, however, too hasty to conclude that Justin drew his idea from Philo, for it was more or less a contemporary usage, though we must bear in mind that both Plato and Philo, especially the former, had some influence upon the formulation of Justin's thought.

Justin's conception of God's namelessness and unutterableness strongly indicates his idea that God is beyond the reach of human reason, and is an inexpressible Being.[2] To him God is transcendent, unchangeable, primal, unnamed, unmoved, ineffable, but not absolute, though it is unjust to call God inactive, in spite of his unmoved character.

Plato, Aristotle, Philo, and the author of the Forth Gospel, presented clearly the activity of God. He is the cause of action, a thinking being, an ongoing vital force. Justin, too, emphasized the activity of God. In the Dialogue[3] he says, " God as the cause to all other things of their existence," and in (I29), " God is the cause of his (the second God) power and of His being Lord and God."

Justin's activity of God is, however, expressed more accurately in terms of the creation and direction of the universe than of causality.[4] Here again we find Plato's influence upon his thought, he insisted again and again that God himself was the Creator, and defended both the Old and New

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I. De Mutatione Nominum, P.I3 FF.
2. Ineffable God- Apology I. 6I; II. I0.8; I2.4; Dialogue I26.2; I27.2,4. CF. Timaeus 28C.
3. Dialogue 3.5.
4. Timaeus 28F, 38, 40 FF.

Testament conception of God over against the Gnostics. As Plato conceived that God heeds all human affairs, Christ, as a manifestation of God, is a way of proof that God is the director as well as the Creator, though Justin introduced the mediating activity of the Logos in relation to the material world.

Aside from the acts of creation and direction, or rather closely connected with these acts, Justin introduced God as omniscient and omnipotent.[1] The conception, however, is not new at all. It is expressed in Plato, as well as in the Hebraic conception of God. It is rather a universal conception of the Divine nature. Since God is omniscient and omnipotent, he must also have the nature of autonomy. God is free, and can not be subjected to fate as a common conception of the Stoics heed. It was Justin who emphasized especially the freedom of God. To him freedom is an essential characteristic, and in that freedom is his Holiness and justice.

A question rises: How can the transcendent God keep such an intimate contact with the world as to see, hear and know all that takes place therein? Justin's answer is that God sees and hears all things, not by eyes or ears but by indescribable might, οὐκ ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐδὲ ὠσὶν ἀλλὰ δυνάμει ἀλέκτῳ.

Justin's interpretation δυνάμει ἀλέκτῳ , an indescribable power, is not sufficient and shows his ignorance in regard to this particular matter, though this is none too easy to explain.

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1. In republic Plato rejected the idea, but in Laws, especially in tenth book, he emphasized upon God's heed over all human affairs. Cf. Dialogue I27; 84. 4.

He may have had in mind the intuitive knowing activity, for it is a creative force as well as a process in knowing or understanding. It seems to me, however, that Justin avoided such a philosophical complication because either he was ignorant of it or purposely avoided it on account of his desire for a non-theoretical or non-philosophical presentation.

Justin is often misunderstood by many theologians because of his extreme emphasis upon the majestic aspect of God. It is true that he emphasized the majestic and sovereign power of God, but he also presented His loving providence.[1] This idea is, expressed also by Plato especially in laws book X. Justin interpreted God's loving kindness. He often speaks of the grace of God through which we are saved, or of his love and goodness to men.[2] These Passages also reveal to us Justin's conception of the personalistic God.

Justin Martyr's conception of God is on the whole transcendent, unbegotten, unmoved, impassive, perfect, self-contained, unchanging, the first cause, the personal Creator, sustainer of the universe as well as merciful, just and good. His conception is essentially Platonic, but retains the Philonic and Pauline conception of God as well.

The most interesting thought in Justin Martyr is, however, not the doctrine of God, but the mediating activity of the Logos whose relationship to man, and to the phenomenal world is so

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I. Apology I. 28.4, Dialogue I.4.
2. Dialogue 32.2, 42.I; 64.2; 43.2; I07.2.etc.

significant, and so interesting to the students of philosophy and theology, although we must bear in mind that the Logos doctrine of Justin Martyr is not treated theoretically or philosophically. His Logos doctrine is the interpretation of the divinity of Christ, and of His pre-existent state.

III

THE PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND OF JUSTIN'S LOGOS DOCTRINE

When we come to speculate on the Logos doctrine, it is essential for us to bear in mind the distinction between the impulse which produced the philosophic Logos doctrine and the practical necessity which induced the early Christians to appropriate the term for their own use.

Among the philosophic circles, the direct impulse to the rise of Logos doctrine rests largely upon the human speculation which resulted from the necessity of linking the Transcendent Absolute with the created world and humanity. In the philosophy of Religion the Logos concept is regarded as a most appropriate thought for the interpretation of the desire to conceive of God as Transcendent and yet immanent at the same time.

In philosophy the term Logos is not used as the title of a unique attribute of God, but rather as the most important term among many applicable to the effulgent power of God.

In Christianity it began not with speculation but with a religious experience, and applied a unique meaning to Logos such as that of the author of the Fourth Gospel who definitely claimed that Jesus was the Logos made flesh . It is obvious that the Christian approach to a Logos doctrine was subjective in character, whereas the philosophical doctrine was approached from above or objectively, and never desired a separate per-

sonality in its Logos doctrine, though as the doctrine became more inspired and elaborated the tendency toward personality was inevitable.For Christianity, on the other hand, the divine human personality was central.

From the Platonic philosophy onward the personalistic trend of Logos interpretation gradually developed. In the later Hebrew literature the 'Memra or Wisdom' was half personified. So was the Logos of Philo. The personalistic interpretation of the Logos was further developed by the author of the Fourth Gospel. In Justin the Logos has a distinct personality. His Logos doctrine was not a mere expression of the subjective experience, but also a product of the rational thinking having the Platonic doctrine of Ideas behind of it.

With these two distinct motivations of the formation of the Logos doctrine in mind, let us now go back to the Greek world where the Logos philosophy sprang up for the interpretation of an invisible principle of the universe which is the source of universal activity.[I] I shall confine my discussion chiefly to the philosophers who have either direct or indirect influence upon the formation of Justin's system of thought .

The first great philosopher ,with whom, Justin seems to

I. Since this thesis is not a philosophical treatment of the the Logos doctrine, I shall not enter into a complete historical survey of the Logos doctrine. Historically speaking the 'BRAHMAN' and 'ATMAN' of India,'Asha'of Persia, 'Tao'of China having a great significance in respect to the Logos doctrine.

have some relationship is Heraclitus whose influence upon Stoicism has been already referred to. Heraclitus held that this world is an expression of an eternally living fire.[1] It is " The nature of the soul of man. The purer this fire , the more perfect is the soul; the dry soul is the wisest and best."[2] In him the fire was almost identical with the Logos. The Logos meant to him all-pervading reason, and the fire was more than the material principle of the universe and the source of all existing things. It was also the cosmic intelligence and reasoning force. In the view of Heraclitus the Logos has always been in the world, but the world has not known it. Dr.Kenneth Saunders says," He seems to stand between the Greek and the oriental world,with one hand held out to the'Brahman'of the Indian and the'Asha' of the Persian, and the other to the Wisdom of the Hebrews."[3]

Dr. Saunders further states that "He is a forerunner of the Fourth Evangelist," and "whether direct contact is proven or not. We may say that this ideas were in the air at Ephesus when the Fourth Gospel was written." This statement is all together undeniable because of the fact that the principle of Heraclitus had been transmitted already into Stoicism. It is evident that Justin also absorbed something of the Heraclitean principle. The reflection of his thought is seen here and there in the Dialogue. Justin,however, rejected rather

1.Fragments,20.
2.Ibid. 74.
3.Saunders,Kenneth "The Gospel for Asia" P.84.

strongly the semi-materialistic element in Heraclitus.

The next important philosopher was Anaxagoras who attempted to reconcile the contradictions of the world about him by the introduction of a primordial NOUS, He says,"All things were mingled togather , then mind came and ordered them."[1] The NOUS of Anaxagoras is a guiding and unitary force of the two contradicting worlds. His NOUS is Mind infinite and self-directing.Alone it mingled with nothing, and thus forever exists. It is like the 'Tao' or Platonic soul, the self-moving and autonomous. The NOUS of Anaxagoras is very significant because it is conceived a forerunner of the later conception of Logos as well as of theism.

Plato,whose philosophical insight threw an eternal intellectual light upon the world, developed the doctrine of NOUS where Anaxagoras left off. Plato's NOUS is interpreted as the efficient principle,[2] and he attempted to give the NOUS consistent reality. In Timaeus(39 e) [3] the term θεός is suddenly called NOUS. Philebus(29 b,31) called the NOUS the efficient principle in the universe, which combines both matter and form, and is regarded as universal intelligence. He further states that the Supreme Intelligence is eternally associated with a ψυχή , for the NOUS cannot exist apart from it.[4] These passages in Timaeus and Philebus make the

1. Diog. Laert, II 3,6.
2. Phaedo, 97; Republic,508; Sophist,254.
3. Also Phil.28 e; Laws,X.891 e,XII. 966 e ff.
4. Phil. 30 d.

nature of NOUS identical with θεός , but in Philebus Plato made a distinction between the NOUS θεῖος or divine NOUS and the NOUS ἑνος or human NOUS. Justin Martyr seems to have adopted this distinction also, for he compared NOUS θεῖος to the Sun whereas the NOUS ἑνός is its ray.[1]

The Supreme Intelligence of Plato is interpreted either as NOUS or φρόνησις, but he could never have used Logos. Plato's Logos means simply an expression or aspect.[2] It is only one of the two aspects of the Philonic Logos concept.[3] In this sense Plato's contribution to the Logos doctrine should be regarded as residing in the term Nous rather than Logos. Closely associated with Plato's NOUS, the contribution of Aristotle should also be noticed, for Justin speeks of him several times. Aristotle conceived the NOUS as purely transcendental, and identified with divine nature. It is itself unmoved and completely at rest, but also to impart motion and power to something else. The NOUS of Aristotle does not move itself, but draws all being toward it because it is perfect Reality. The NOUS is actual thinking mind.[4]

Aristotle also found the NOUS in man to consist of or actual mind which has an eternal nature, and , a potential mind which is perishable. this idea seems to me,

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I. Dialogue, I27.
2. Theaetetus 29I c.ff.
3. Strong, A.H. "Systematic Theology" P.I62.
4. Metaphysics, I, 3.984.

an application of the Platonic idea to the human NOUS. I call special attention at this particular point to the term δύναμις, for Justin Martyr too, like Plato, used the term to express the divine immanence.

I have suggested that stoicism wore the same shoes which Heraclitus used. The Stoics used πῦρ (Fire) or πνεῦμα alternately, as identified with Reason or Logos, but they never interpreted it in an immaterial sense. It is purely an impersonal interpretation. The Stoic πνεῦμα has a meaning parallel to the modern scientific term energy, but it never was interpreted as a spiritual activity. It is this material principle which aroused Justin's a vigorous challenge. In spite of Justin's refutation of the Logos doctrine of Stoicism I still believe that the Stoics made a stimulating contribution to the Logos philosophy. This moral contribution to the Christians was, perhaps, the best which came out of Stoicism.

Among the early Alexandrian philosophers, the Logos was interpreted as affording a mediating function between God and the world, while the Gospel ascribes a definite function of the Logos in Christ. It was Philo who achieved of wedded the Logos of the Greeks to the 'Memra' or divine wisdom of the Hebrews. As has already been said, Philo attempted to solve the problem of Transcendence and His activity in terms of intermediary agents, the Logoi, or the secondary Gods, though he did not fully personalize the Logoi. They were half personalized like 'Memra' of the wisdom literature, and conceived

as the bridge between man and Transcendent God.

To Philo the real nature of the Logos is both Reason and Speech, or expression, but predominantly the former. "The Reason", he says, "is like a fountain and the utterance flows from it. The seat of the Reason is the ruling and spiritual sphere of human nature; the seat of speech is in the vocal organ. Hence 'the divine Logos' is the manifestation of God; and the 'true Logos' is the rule of life; namely to live in accordance with the highest nature."[1]

It is obvious that Philo conceived the Logos as eternal. It is the fountain of eternal life, and conceived even as personal when he speaks of Melchizedek.[2] In relation to Melchizedek Philo called him highpriest, ambassador between God and the Cosmos, archangel of many names, first-born Son of God, the image of God, and the nearest model of the only Being who truly is. But in reality Philo failed to personalize the Logos. At least he was inconsistence in his personalistic interpretation. It was Justin who distinctly developed the personalistic conception of the Logos.

Philo received a very strong influence from Plato, and like Justin Martyr he became an apologist for the defence of Judaism against atheism, polytheism, and scepticism, and attempted to harmonize the Platonic and the Hebraic thought into a single system. Thus he became an earnest Jewish Platonist and opened

1. De Vita Mosis III.13. This interpretation of Philo shows, to a certain extent, some influence of the Stoic Logos doctrine upon him.
2. Gen.XIV.18-19; PS.110.4, are the only passages in the Old Testament which mention about Melchizedek.

a new channel of progress in the history of the Philosophy of Religion.

Philo's influence upon the author of the Fourth Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews is possible. Philo's influence upon the latter is obvious,for the most critics agree that the Epistle was written at Alexandria by a Hellenistic Jew. Philo's influence upon the author of the Fourth Gospel is more or less indirect.Gilbert is perhaps right in saying," This agreement between the Prologue and Philo is comprehensive and fundamental. It seems impossible not to recognize that the earlier witer, either directly or indirectly,exercised a determining influence upon the thought of the later. Their conceptions are by no means identical;the difference between them are considerable. Chief of these is the fact that, in John, the personality of the Logos is without any shadow of uncertainty, and second to this , the function of the Logos in the Gospel culminates in his religious service for mankind, as it does not in Philo."[1] To Philo's theory John adds a supreme concrete illustration. For John the Logos doctrine has became a creed of flesh and blood.

Philo's influence upon Justin Martyr is perhaps greater than any other contemporary thinker,for Justin shows many Philonic traits in his writings.As Dean Inge thinks that Justin was more near to Philo than the author of the Fourth Gospel. Justin Martyr developed Philo's half personalized Logos to the full extent, and made the personalized Logos,or Christ, the real fountain of the Christian life.

1. Gilbert, G.H. "Greek Thought in the New Testament" P.174.

IV

The Logos as Expressed in Various Terms.

In the last chapter I have gone over briefly what seems to me to be the background of Justin's Logos doctrine. Through this study we have learned that the meaning of Logos and the terms applied to it do not correspond. The fundamental nature of the Logos is unchangeable, but the terms applied to it, representing personal opinion or understanding, were not always adequate. But terms such as NOUS, Reason, Memra, Word and Tao were employed by many philosophers of the past with almost the same fundamental connotation.

In both the Apologies and the Dialogues Justin used various forms with reference to the Logos and the Logos incarnated in Christ. The terms θεός, δύναμις, κυριός and ἀγγέλος were often used by him to express some aspect of the Logos. The first two of these expressions are more Hellenistic than Hebraic, whereas the last two are more or less Hebraic.

Besides these terms there are some peculiar words which are applied to the Logos and the Logos incarnated in Christ. I shall now attempt to discuss some of the most important of these.

The phrase, " The East is His name" (ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ) is found in the Dialogue, Chapters 100, 4; 100, 4; 121, 2: 126, 1, etc. It has a wide variety of. It is interpreted sometimes as the source of light which gives both life and growth; sometimes as activity and power. The phrase was not originated by Justin.

It seems to have been an Alexandrian phrase, for Philo the Jewish Platonist used it in his writings.[1] It is obvious that Justin borrowed the phrase from Philo or from the prophets, because in the Dialogue (I00,4) he says, " For he[2] is addressed in the writings of the prophets in one way or another as wisdom and the Day; and the East and a Sword; and a Stone and a Rod, and Jacob, and Israel."

Beside the term East, there appear here several other expressions which are more or less awkward and insufficient expressions for the Logos. the term ἡμέρα or Day is sometimes used alternatively with φῶς (light) by Justin. It is the opinion of Donaldson, the editor of " The Ante-Nicene Fathers", that Justin refers to the Day-spring (Luke I,78), as the LXX renders many texts of the Old Testament.[3] Thus Justin perhaps had in mind the passage, ' This is the Day which the Lord hath made."[4] Clement of Alexandria thinks that Christ is here referred to.

The expression of the Logos in terms of λίθος and πέτρα was not of Justinian origin. They had already been used by Philo as an allegorical interpretation of his divine power and unshakable character.[5] He has taken the figure apparently from the Old Testament, because the Stone and the Rock were often used as sacred symbols, and as referring to a dwelling place of God

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I. De Confusione Linguarium. 62.
2. The "He" referred to is apparently the Son of God.
3. Footnote, Dialogues I00. See Zech. III,8.
4. Ps. II8,24.
5. Legis Alegor II,86.

in early Semitic religion.[1] Justin's interpretation in the Dialogue was simply an argument for Christ's divinity and his kinship with God the Father. He says in the Dialogue, " For I have shown that Christ was proclaimed by the prophets in parables as a Stone and a Rock.[2] This quotation shows apparently that Justin had in mind the δύναμις of God and his unchangeable character. The term, however, has no special significance in Justin's Logos doctrine. A word which has some philosophical significance is φῶς which was used by both Justin Martyr and the writer of the Forth Gospel.[3] It is also found in the Wisdom Literature. It symbolizes power, intelligence, wisdom and truth. It is a characteristic expression of eastern peoples.

The word σοφία (wisdom) is also used by Justin to express the nature of the Logos. In Dialogues (62) he says," That He whom Solomon calls wisdom was begotten as a Beginning before all His creatures and as his offspring by God." Notice the capitalized word Beginning. Justin used not only σοφία in reference to the Logos, but also ἀρχή in order to show his supreme place in the order of the creation on the Universe.

The word φῶς , σοφία and ἀρχη are not only characteristic expressions of the later Hebrew literature, but also of the Greeks.

The most anthropomorphic expressions for the Logos are ἀνήρ and ἄνθρωπος . The Dialogues (I28) show Justin's conception

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1. See Robertson-Smith, The religion of the Semites.
2. Dialogues, II3; 34,2; 36,1; 70,I; 90,5; 100,4; II3,6; II4, 2&4; I26,I.
3. VII, 26.

of the Logos and Christ by the use of many different terms. He says, " the power sent from the Father of all---is called Glory because He appears in a vision sometimes which cannot be borne; is called a man and a human being, because he appears arrayed in such forms as the Father pleases." The term Glory symbolizes the majestic beauty and power of God. It was not, however, an original Hebrew expression, but was a Greek idea. In the septuigant the crude Hebraic expression for God was often replaced by the Greek word, which was a more philosophical expression. The word Glory is one of these many substituted words.[1] The capitalized "man" refers to Christ, by the will of God the Logos incarnated in the man Jesus.[2]

Justin also applied the personal nouns Israel and Jacob,use together, to Christ Jesus. These two names are never used separately,,the former being used as a surname with the latter. Jacob was given that name by God. Genesis 32,22ff reads, "And he said,'thy name shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name; for thou hast prevailed with God, and with men shalt be powerful.'" What Justin intended to show through Jacob and Israel was the divine manifestation in Jacob.

Besides these unusual terms, Justin used many other words such as Priest, King, Captain, Rod, Fire Flower, etc. Chapters 100, 123, 126, 128 of the Dialogue with Trypho are particularly important for illustrating Justin's peculiar expression for the Logos and Christ, especially his pre-incarnated Christ Logos. These terms, which apply to the effulgent power of God,

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1. Dean Inge, Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol.IX, article on Philosophy OF PHILO.
2. Dialogues, 58, 10; 126, 1.

are derived either from the Old Testament or from some Hellenistic-Jewish source, particularly from Alexandrian literature.

The most important philosophical term are, however, Word, or Reason. These two terms are now widely used without distinction to express the nature of the Logos; it is now not a case of " either or",but both are used in the same sense. these two words express something inseparable in the Logos. Reason represents the divine Wisdom and Intelligence, whereas Word represents the divine utterance.[I] Justin used these two characteristic expression more than any others I have mentioned to express the nature of the Logos. The following references which I have taken from the Apologies and the Dialogues will show clearly the wide distribution of the terms in Justin's writing.

I. The Logos as Word.

a. In the Dialogue with Trypho: 32; 54,3&5; 56,3; 58,5; 66,I4; I58,6; I88,2; 2I4,3; 302,2.

b. In the Apologies:

I.5,20; I0,22; I2,27; 2I,I; 22,7; 33,36; 36,4;63,I0; II:6,7; 8;4,9;I0; I0,4; II,I3.

II.The Logos as Reason.

a. In the Dialogues: 34,3; I26,a; I8,c; I68,c; I86,a; I2,c; 4,c; 6,e; I4,a; 206,c.

b. In the Apologies:

I. Historically there is no distinction between Reason and Word. I made a distinction because the Logos involves two fundamental nature;namely, Divine Reason and its utterance.

I. 2:2,5; 3:5,20; 5,12; 6,8; 12,31; 13,18.

II. 7,29; 9,19.

The problems closely related to these terms are further discussed in the following chapters, together with the words θεός , δύναμις , κυριός , ἀγγέλος , and Justin's favorite expression πρωτότοκος .

V

THE PHILOSOPHICAL NATURE OF JUSTIN'S LOGOS

The discussion of the terms applied to the Logos or Christ has already suggested something of the nature of the Logos of Justin. In this chapter I shall consider something of the Philosophical significance of the fundamental nature of Justin's Logos doctrine.

Justin did not speculate as to the time of the origin of the divine Logos. Even had he attempted to determine the time, he would never have succeeded, for it is beyond human apprehension. This is because the Logos is a super-spacial and super-temporal being. What we can say is what Justin gives in the second Apology: ὅτε υἱοὺς ἐκείνου, ὁ μόνος λεγόμενος Κυρίως υἱός, ὁ λόγος πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων καὶ συνὼν καὶ γεννώμενος, ὅτε τὴν ἀρχὴν δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα ἔκτισε καὶ ἐκόσμησε.

"But His Son, the only Son, is properly called Son, the Word who also was with Him and was begotten before the works, when at first He created and arranged all things by Him."[1] This statement does not show a difinite time for the origin of the Logos. The Logos was with Him from the beginning, and that beginning is utterly unknowable to man.

It seems as if Justin might have taken this idea from the Fourth Gospel, but before he became acquainted with the Gospel[2] he had probably acquired almost the same idea from Plato's

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1. II, Apology 6,3.
2. The following passages show Justin's acquaintance with the Fourth Gospel: Apology I,6I; Dialogue I2,47,55,6I,9I.

Timaeus; the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel undoubtedly gave special light upon the Platonic thought which he already had.

In II Apology (see above) there are presented two definite stages of development of the Logos-Christ. The first is the stage in which He was simply an attribute, the Logos of God "the Logos who was with Him". The second is the stage of being begotten "and was begotten before the creation". Justin placed his emphasis upon the second stage, the stage where the impersonal Logos appears with a definite personality.[I]

Essentially the Logos has a twofold nature, namely, thought and expression, or λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λογος προφορικος, but Justin did not make a clear distinction between them. However, these two are inseparable, as the Logos is inseparable from the eternally existing Divine Father. They are really two aspect of the One eternal reality; the expression is a mere reproduction of the thought activity. In this sense, the Logos-Christ is the thought-activity of the Divine Father.

Numerically, God the Father and the Logos-Christ are distinct, but in essential character they are one. Justin discusses this problem especially in Dialogue 56-61. He tries to explain his position in terms of ἀριθμος and γνώμη "number and will". The latter word is personalistic because it is the central nucleus of our thought process or the conscious activity,

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I. Apologies, I,6.

and we cannot think of it separated from the universal reality. We are clearly aware of the independent existence of a light and its beam: That is numerical; but the beam is nothing without its source. The beam may function distinctly, but the nature of the two is essentially the same. So Christ and the angels have different functions, but their essential natures are almost identical. The same reasoning is applicable to God the Father and the Logos-Christ.

Since Justin made the Logos-Christ the chief angel, the real Son of God who stands out from all other angelic gods,[I] it is reasonable for him to argue that the worship of the Logos or incarnated-Christ is the worship of God. He says, "That the objects of Christian worship were God" , and "The Son who came forth from Him and taught us those things, and the host of other good Angels who follow Him and are made like to Him". Τον παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἑπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγαθῶν ἀγγέλων στρατόν.

However, Justin neither expressed nor inculcated the worship of angels. This is made especially clear in I Apology, chapters 13, 16 and 61.

Metaphysically, Justin identified the nature of the Logos with that of Angels, but this does not mean that he thought of the Logos simply as a chief among the Angels. The Logos of Justin was more than that. As I have already said, He is

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I. CF. The Epistle to the Hebrews, see especially first three chapters.

spoken of as the only begotten(μονόγενη) and the title θεός is applied to him like Plato, his use of the terms ὁ θεός and θεός is often confusing. It seems to me that the reason for this is that Justin made the Logos, the incarnated Christ, a supremely important agent of God, and the worship of him is the worship of God the Father. It is apparent , however, that Justin used ὁ θεός in reference to the Logos, the incarnated-Christ, in order to make a clear distinction between Him and the heathen gods; but primarily, ὁ θεός can be adequately applied only to God the maker of all things. Plato, too, I think, was forced to use ὁ θεός [1] in order to make a distinction between his idea of God and gods, and the gods of Greece. on the whole, Justin Martyr seems to have followed the lead of Philo. He says," ὁμὲν ἀληθεία θεός εἷς ἐστιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν καταχρήσει λεγόμενοι πλείους. διὸ καὶ ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος ἑκατὸν παρόντι τὸν μὲν ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τοῦ ἄρθρου μεμήνυκεν, εἰπὼν "ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεός" τὸν δὲ ἐν καταχρήσει χωρὶς ἄρθρου, φάσκων ὁ ὀφθεὶς σοὶ ἐν τόπῳ " οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλα αὐτὸ μόνον "θεοῦ" —.

There is one true God only; but they who are called gods by an abuse of language are numerous. On which account the holy scriptures on the present occasion imply that it is the true God that is meant by the use of the article, the expression being, 'I am the God'; but when the word is used incorrectly, it is

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I. Even in Plato's latest work, The Laws, he sometimes uses in place of θεός , ὁ θεός.

put without the article, the expression being, 'He who was seen by thee in the place not of the God, but simply God.'"[1]

The chief point of difference between Philo and Justin is that the former applied θεός in terms of the secondary gods including all the angels, whereas the latter conceived the word θεός as a term distinctively applied to the Logos, showing his superiority over all other angels.[2]

The Logos of Justin is a permanent δύναμις, an emanation of power and glory from God. He is πρωτότοκος "First born" who exists eternally with God the Father. He was with the Father before all things, and begotten when the world created through him.[3] He is not a soulless power, but is a person begotten of the substance of the Father;[4] begotten not by division, but as a word is uttered without diminishing the word in the mind;[5] the Logos is a rational power and inseparable from God the Father who is the source of all reasoning power. the Word or Logos Himself took a form and became man, and was called Christ. To Justin, anyone who lived according to reason was a Christian. He said definitely that Socrates and Heraclitus were Christians because they lived in accordance with the Supreme Reason, which is the characteristic nature of the Logos

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I. De Somniis, I,655.(Greek) Trans, C.D.Yonge, Vol.II, P.340.
2. For Justin's use of the term, see Dialogue, 48,2;56,8; I25,3; I26,2; I27,4; I28,I.
3. Apologies, II,6.
4. Dialogue, I28.
5. Ibid. 6I,I28.

and the Logos incarnated Christ. Justin further states "For He was, and is , the Word, who is in every one".

Here Justin introduces the word in man. The rational reasoning force which stands as the supreme guiding principle in man, is to him the Logos. Justin identified this supreme reason,or True Reason with Logos, and interprets that True Reason as being incarnated in Christ. This Reason always directs us to refuse the guidance of those who do or teach anything wrong. Consequently the Logos is Good itself, , and inperishable.

Justin's emphasis upon the Logos as Reason is markedly Platonic, and his feeling toward the person who truly lives in accordance with reason urged him to challenge the Jews, who often despised the value of reason. He thought, like Plato, that the just man always lives in accordance with this True Reason. Christianity is, in one sense, a religion of True Reason.

The Apologies, I,46 and II, IO also suggest the universal nature of the Logos. The Logos, the incarnated Christ, is of course the Christian interpretation of the universal Logos, but the relation of it is not limited to Christians only. This universal interpretation of the Logos doctrine of Justin has, to my mind, a great significance because it enlarges our religious view and tends to harmonize particular Christian experience with a philosophical truth, and gives a comprehensive view of God and

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I. Apologies, I,5.
2. Ibid. I,46; II,IO.
3. Ibid. II,IO.
4. Ibid. I,5.
5. Ibid. 2.

His activity in the universe.

Justin's foremost doctorine was, as I have mentioned already, the Logos as the incarnate Christ as a true Son of God, who was with Him in the beginning. I shall consider this particular phase of the Logos doctorine in the following chapter.

VI

CHRIST, THE LOGOS AND HIS EXISTENCE

The central issue of Justin's Logos doctrine is, as I have said in the previous chapter, the attempt to identify the Logos with Christ. He writes to Trypho the Jew concerning both the pre-incarnate and the incarnate-Christ in order to prove the real existence of the second God, or Christ.[1] To him the term Logos is identified with both the pre-incarnate and the incarnate-Christ. In the Apologies the Logos and His pre-existent state is called Christ as well as Logos.[2]

My initial task is to deal with Justin's essential problem of the personal exsistence of the second God, or Christ. In the first Century Philo, the Jewish Platonist, made an attempt to prove the existence of second gods, that is, the existence of the beings who stand as the mediating functions between the transcendent God and man and the created world. Philo did not of course ascribe a definite place to Christ. He made no distinction between the angels of God and Christ, and he had not yet developed the idea of the personality of the Logos. Both Philo and Justin Martyr followed the Platonic concept of the existence of second gods, but in Justin the truly called second God is limited to Christ, the Logos, only, and the Logos is personified in full measure. Thus he established a strong Logos Christology having not only a subjective experiencial character but also an objective rationality. This is perhaps Justin's

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1. Dialogue, 61,1; 62,1.
2. Apologies, I,62,4.

chief contribution to Christian theology.

The argument on this question was Justin's first constructive approach to Trypho the Jew in the effort to convert him to Christianity. Justin argues, "I shall attempt to persuade you that there is, and that there is said to be, another God and Lord subject to the Maker of all things; who is also called an angel because he announces to men whatsoever the Maker of all things does above whom there is no other God,"[I] and in the Apologies he mentions briefly that "the Father of the universe has a son; who also, being the first Begotten Word of God, is God." (ὅτι ἐστὶν υἱὸς τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων γινώσκοντες ὃς λόγος καὶ πρωτότοκος ὢν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θεὸς ὑπάρχει).[2]

Justin argued this first statement in Dialogue 56, and attempted to distinguish between God who rules over all, and His messengers, or Angels. The former remains in heaven, whereas the latter appear in theophanies. The second gods are necessary to perform mediating functions between the supreme God, who is absolutely transcendent, and the lower being. The possibility of the latter's existence is entirely dependent upon the will of God.

In this argument Justin quotes to Trypho from the passage

I. Dialogue, 56. Justin's assertion here shows a clear reflection of Plato's Timaeus. Pfattisch points out this assertion as one of the clear evidence of Platonic influence upon Justin; see the influence of Plato upon the theology of Justin Martyr. Timaeus, 40 ff.

2. Apologies, 63,15.

where God appeared to Abraham under the oak of Mamre (Genesis-I8,Iff), by which he attempts to prove the existence of the second god. He also quotes the account in Genesis where two ordinary angels accompanied one who must be recognized as god, for he entered into the tent to announce the birth of a son to Sarah and promised to return later; when he did return he is called God in the scriptures. But this god cannot be the same as the God who rules over all. He is the messenger god who finally secures permission from the God of Heaven to rain fire and brimstone upon the cities of Sodom and Gomarrah. Throughout the chapter (56) Justin puts special emphasis upon the independent personality of this being who can be manifested to man, and upon His divine nature.

In the following chapter (57) Trypho objects, that he whom Justin calls God has eaten the food which was prepared by Abraham.[I] To this Justin answers, "It is written that they ate; and if we believe that it is said that the three ate, and not the two alone--who were really angels--then I would say that the scripture which says that they ate bears the same meaning as when we would say about fire that it has devoured all things; yet it is not certainly understood that they ate, masticating with teeth and jaws."[2]

Justin further argues Christ's virgin birth in chapter 58,

I. Genesis, I9,I6-25.
2. Christ was the angel with whom Moses communed on the occasion when he had lost faith in the promise of food. Dialogue 58,60,I26,6.

where he refers to Jacob's dream, and also in chapter 66 where he refers to the passage in Isaiah. (I will discuss this particular problem in the following chapter).

His argument may have been unphilosophical from the viewpoint of modern critics, but we must remember that Justin's prospective convert, Trypho, believed that the Scriptures were the sole authority. In his day the scriptural argument was perhaps more important than the philosophical, especially among the unphilosophical Jewish group. Justin always gave the direct proof from Scriptures, but his interpretation of it was often in the Platonic style. For instance, in chapter 61, "Wisdom is begotten of the Father, as fire from fire," is largely a Platonic interpretation; that is to say, Platonic thought forms the background for his interpretation.

This chapter (61) deals largely with the problem, "How the Logos came into being?" Thus Justin'S proof of the existence of the second personal God leads up to the problem of how, when, and for what purpose the Logos came into being. His interpretation rests mainly upon the two terms begotten(γεννήμα)[1] and Emanation (ἀπορροή).[2]

Justin summed up the former position in his own phrase, ὁτι πρωτότοκος τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ, the firstborn of the unbegotten God,"[3] and also in the other passage πρωτόγονους τοῦ θεοῦ,[4]

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1. Note the expression γεννήμα This is also a favorite expression of Plato. Timaeus, 69. Pfattisch calls the term Platonic.
2. This term is used by Plato. Justin used simply ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ.
3. Apologies, I,53,5.
4. Ibid. 53,8.

but he made no special distinction between the two phrases.

These two Greek words πρωτότοκος and πρωτόγονος have nearly the same meaning. Both are interpreted as the "First-born", but still πρωτόγονος has a slightly different meaning. To Justin Christ is both the firstborn and also first-ordained minister of God. Justin himself uses these two words without distinction to refer to the Logos, the incarnated-Christ; but Philo and the New Testament each shows a clear preference, the former using πρωτόγονος, while the latter prefers πρωτότοκος.[I]

Both the Apologies and the Dialogue show that Justin laid stress on the conception of begotten, but ignored the conception of ποιέω, made, because he found a closer and more intimate relation between the πρωτότοκος and ὁ θεός, which expresses the idea of eternal divine inheritance that is emphasized so strongly in the Epistle to the Hebrews. This Epistle, which is full of Hellenistic color, also favours the term begetting instead of ποιέω. Justin seems to have adopted the term Priest-King from this Epistle, for he quotes from it in the Dialogue (II8). Apparently both Justin and author of the Epistle to the Hebrews have the same Platonic background; and also both were probably greatly influenced by the Alexandrian philosopher.

Justin used γέννημα, which is more Platonic that Hebraic, without hesitation, because it involves a more accurate philosophical meaning than ποιέω. The latter expression is Hebraic

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I. πρωτότοκος—. Lk. 2,7; Rom. 8,9; Col. I,I5; He. I,6; II,28; I2,23; Re. I,5.
πρωτόγονος— Philo, "On who is the Heir of Divine Thing" XXIII. "On the life of Moses" XXIV.

and shows a crude anthropomorphic trend of thought. Justin also inclined to γεννήμα rather than to ποίημα for the same reason, but the γεννήμα from ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ does not express sufficiently how the Logos came into being, for γεννήμα and πρωτότοκος have too many anthropomorphic connotations, and imply an abscission from a diminution of the Begotten. Justin seems to have meditated a good deal on this particular matter, of how to avoid the sense of abscission from God while at the same time maintaining the transcendent nature of God the Father. He finally found a way of escape from the term Emanation (ἀπορροή) IN THE TERM Begotten which has a deep philosophical and intellectual appeal as well as a clear expression of the Oneness of the Begotten with God the Father.[1] This expression has a great significance for present day religious thinking, and we owe this first philosophical contribution to the theory of the immanence of God to Justin Martyr.

In the Dialogue (61) where he discusses the phrase, "Wisdom is Begotten of the Father, as fire from fire", Justin says, "That God begat before all creatures a beginning, a certain rational power proceeding from Himself (δύναμίν τινα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικήν), Who is called by the Holy Spirit, now the Glory of the Lord, now the Son, again Wisdom, again Angel, then God, and then Lord and Logos." The most interesting phrase to me is δύναμιν τινα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικήν, for ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ suggests the concept of the emanation of the rational power from God the Father. It seems to me more significant than the rest for just that reason.

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1. Justin never used the term emanation, for it was the Gnostic conception. Justin's idea of the relation of the Logos to God was different from that of the Gnostics.

The next noticeable word is, of course, Logos. The term Logos means both the thinking power or reason which produces ideas, and also the expression of those ideas, as Philo interprets it. Donaldson also interprets it in the same way in the footnote on page 227 of The Ante-Nicene Fathers".[I] He says further, "When we utter a thought, the utterance of it does not diminish the power of thought in us". though in a sense the thought has gone away from us." Speech or utterance as interpreted by Philo, emanates from the thought. The same argument may be applied to the relation between the Eternal Pattern and its shadow "Platonic", God the Father and the Logos. However, the former is the work of the divine hand. It is more accurately expressed in the term ποιέω than in γεννήμα . The latter implies a relationship of more signicant meaning than either ποιέω or γεννήμα , but perhaps it is better express in the term Emanation.

Justin expressed his conviction that the Logos was still one with the Father, and that there was no abscission. In the Dialogue he states, " Καὶ λόγον καλοῦσιν , ἐπειδὴ καὶ πᾶς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ὑπάρχειν, ὅπερ τρόπον τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φασὶ φῶς ἐπὶ γῆς εἶναι ἄτμητον καὶ ἀπώριστον ὄντος τοῦ ἡλίου ἐν τῷ

I. It seems to me Justin too had in mind ὁ λογος ἐνδιάθετος (conception residing in mind or thought) and ὁ λόγος προφορικός . (The utterance of mind). The terms were, however, Logical technicalities used to distinguish between thought in the mind and thought expressed verbally. Plato's Thaetetus , I89E and Sojhist 263E treats this problem too.

ὁυρανῷ καὶ, ὁταν δύνηται, συναποφερέται τὸ φῶς. ὁυτως ὁ πατήρ, ὁταν βούληται, πάλιν ἀναστέλλει εἰς ἑαυτόν."

" And they call Him the Word, because He carries tiding from the Father to men; but maintains that this power is indivisible and inseparable from the Father, just as the light of the sun on earth is indivisible and inseparable from the sun in the heavens; as when it sinks, the light sinks along with it; so the Father when He choose say they, cause His power to spring forth, and when He chooses, He makes it to return to Himself."[1]

Justin clearly brought out his own position here in this notable passage, asserting that the Logos does not exist independently from the Father.[2] The Word is indivisible and inseparable from the Father. It is an emanation of divine attributes and is a permanent out-flowing conditioned by the will of God. To Him God is the eternal infinite source of the Logos. He is like a great water reservoir the source of the streams of the water of life. The following interpretation may confirm our understanding still further of Justin's conception of God as the eternal infinite source of power and wisdom. He says in the Dialogue, λόγον γάρ τινα προβάλλοντες λόγον

I. Dialogue, 128.
2. What I mean to say is that the Logos has an independent nature, but His independence is deeply conditioned by the will of the Father. Justin's discussion perhaps will help us to see more of his position.

γεννῶμεν, οὐ κατὰ ἀποτομήν ὡς ἐλαττωθῆναι τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν λόγον προβαλλόμενοι.

" For in giving forth anything rational, as a word, We beget the Word; not giving it forth in such a way as to make an abscission so that the rational in us is diminished." I

Justin discusses this particular point further by taking fire as an illustration. He says, "And just as we see also happening in the case of fire, which is not lessened when it has kindled another, but remains the same; and that which has been kindled by it likewise appears to exist by itself, not diminishing that from which it was kindled."

This quotation impresses us deeply with the idea that Justin is driving our thought toward the eternally unchanging quality of God and the Logos and of all things which are immaterial. The oneness of the Logos with the Father, with whose character it is synthetic, is very vividly shown in this quotation. Through this argument Justin compels us to accept the divinity and the Sonship of the Logos, the incarnated-Christ.

In the beginning of this chapter I brought out Justin's recognition of the existence of second gods or angels. These angels, according to Justin, are the outgoing functions or divine emanation, but he made Christ, the Logos, the chief outflowing from God, and considered the other angels as minor

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I. Dialogue, 61.

functionaries; and gave a definite personality to this first, and most essential outflowing power, the Logos.

Thus Justin discussed the problem of "How the Logos came into Being" with full philosophical enthusiasm and earnestness. He discussed it wisely and intellectually also in order to solve the difficult relationship which exist between the transcendent God and man; and the angels and Christ.

The emanation theory of Justin, which he contributed to the world in order to interpret the Origin of the Logos, seems to me, the only serviceable or adequate theory. This theory had a tremendous influence upon succeeding generations. It was the forerunner of the theory of immanency of God. An idea of Divine immanence was already given in the Gospel and in the Epistle of St.Paul, but was not systematically considered. It was Justin who stimulated the first systematic view of divine emanation.

VII

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JUSTIN'S LOGOS DOCTRINE

The Logos has a special significance in Cosmogony because the doctrine interprets the initiative act of the Supreme Being together with the begotten Son, who participated not only in the creative act of God the Father, but also in His revelation to man. It sets forth the process of truth impartation as well as the process of cosmic evolution.

Platonists as well as Christians agree that the world was created by the Word.[1] The nearest interpretation that I can offer for the pre-existent nature of the Word or Logos of Justin is Con-substantial or Co-eternal with God. He is essentially Ουσια, the cause of beings . He was incarnated in human form and appeared on earth in order to fulfill the will of God.

The first point of vital significance in Justin's Logos doctrine is, therefore, its cosmological meaning; and the cosmological meaning of Cosmic Christ, is his chief emphasis. Justin used the cross as a sacred symbol of creative process as well as of divine power. In the Apologies he says,[2] "The power of the Logos, which is symbolized as a cross, is the greatest symbol of His power and rule"; and, "For consider all things in the world whether without this form they could be administered or have any community." He develops the argument

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1. Apologies, I,59-60,64; II,6; Dialogue, II4,etc.
2. Ibid. I,55.

by using well-known objects as illustrations. The sail, having from the cross-shaped mast, makes the ship safe; the earth cannot be turn up without a cross-shaped plough; Spaden and mechanics cannot do their work except with tools which have this shape. And the human form differs from that of the irrational animals in nothing else but in its being erect and having two arms extended, and having on the face extending from the forehead a thing which is called the nose, through which there is respiration for the living creature; all of this shows no other form than that of the cross." So to Justin's mind the cross is the greatest symbol of God's power and rule. What he has in mind in this passage, it seems to me, is that the cross, symbolic of the Omnipresence of God and upon which the Logos, the incarnate Christ died, is found elsewhere on earth; and likewise that the cosmic Christ, or Logos, is found everywhere in the universe.

It is truly interesting that Plato also speaks of the cross. Justin refers to his doctrine of the cross in the first Apologies (60). Plato placed His "the Son of God" in the universe after the manner of the letter X, or crosswise.[1] Justin understands this symbol X to be the Logos, for he says, "For he [Plato] gives the second place to the Logos which is with God, who he said was placed crosswise in the universe; and the third place to the spirit who was said to be borne upon the water."[2] Justin asserts that Plato borrowed the idea of the cross from Moses,[3]

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1. Timaeus, 36,5e.
2. Apologies, I,60.
3. See Gen. 21,8.

but he gives no accurate proof for this assertion. Justin's discussion, however, indicates that Plato's doctrine of the cross implied the conception of the Logos as a cosmic being.

Further cosmological significance of Justin's doctrine of the Logos is found in the term λόγος σπερματικός, significant because it implies activity or the process of growth. The nature of the Logos is not passive; it is an active entity of God the Father. In the Apology he says, "Those men who believe in Him in whom abideth the seed of God; and what is spoken of as 'the blood of the grape' signifies that He who should appear would have blood, though not of the seed of man, but of the power of God. And the first power after God the Father and Lord of all is the Word, who is also the Son."[I] In a footnote in "The Ante-Nicene Fathers" the editor remarks that grape signifies not σπερμα, but spirit.[2] In many cases it is used thus, just as it is here.

The term σπερματικός suggests the principle of growth, for it involves the idea of a creative force or activity. Consequently it is possible to translate it as πνεῦμα or spirit, for it is an active and growing principle of the individual life as well as of the universe. The λόγος σπερματικός is not a characteristic of Christ only, but it is in man too. In the Apology (II,13) Justin says, "All men have a part of the sperma-

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I. Apologies, I, 32.
2. Stoicism also uses the term σπερματικός, in the sense of a very fine gas which flows, and is a element in matter.

-tic Logos in themselves," and "On account of the seed of reason implanted in every race of men," etc.[1] These two passages seem to show Justin's idea of the spiritual or divine element in all men. We must note, however, that Justin conceived the spermatic Logos (he used the small letters in 'word' instead of capitals) in man as a part of the Spermatic Logos.[2]

The λόγος σπερματικός is primarily considered as impersonal. It is a seed of Reason, and is interpreted in various ways (see above). It is a growing principle, a source of life activity. It is impersonal, but in Christ the spermatic Logos becomes personal. In Philo the Spermatic Logos is used entirely in the sense of impersonal being, but in Justin it is used as more or less personal. Christ who is the totality of the Spermatic Logos is the Word beginning here on earth, the growing principle which is progressing toward the completion of an individual life. He is the stimulator of the spermatic Logos in man. The chief significance of the Spermatic Logos is its creative activity in the universe.

The next significant point in Justin 's Logos doctrine is his strong emphasis upon the Logos as the incarnate Christ or the Son of God. His principal argument is based upon Christ's supreme divine personality, the Biblical references to him, and

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1. Apologies, II,8.
2. Ibid. II,10.

his virgin birth.[1] Justin believed firmly in the pre-existent nature of Christ. He derived the idea not only from the fourth Gospel, but originally from Plato.[2] He endeavored to prove this from the Old Testament. Since the pre-existence of the Logos is logically certain, the existence of the infinite God is also certain.

Justin believed the Virgin Birth to be possible. It is impossible and unthinkable in man, but with God it is possible. The Virgin Birth is an outflowing of the divine δύναμις. When the power of God came upon the Virgin, it overshadowed her and caused her while yet a virgin to conceive.[3]

Justin admits, however, that the Virgin Birth is not an essential part of the Christian faith, and says that the Divine nature of Christ can be proved quite independently of the story of His birth. He says, "Moreover, the Son of God called Jesus, even if only a man by ordinary generation, yet, on account of His Wisdom, is worthy to be called the Son of God."[4] Justin's special emphasis upon Jesus' personality more than on his virgin birth has certainly deep meaning for modern religious speculation. It is the Divine Will that Justin counts most important. By it Jesus upholds His divinity and Sonship. Here again we see the influence of Plato upon Justin's thought. The good and just life itself is divine and imperishable.

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1. Apologies, I, 36&46; Dialogue, 95,8&4; 85; 87; 100; 105.
2. It is obvious that Plato's pre-existence theory has a tremendous influence upon Justin's thought especially in relation to the invisible reality and the soul.
3. Justin traced Jesus' ancestry from the Davidic line, and not from that of Joseph. See Dialogue, 47,1; 49,4; 120, 2&3; 120,2.
4. Apologies, I,22; Dialogue, 48,2&3.

Justin made no special distinction between δύναμις θεοῦ and πνεῦμα ἅγιον, but indentified them birth with the Logos. In the Apologies (I,33) he says, "It is wrong, therefore, to understand the Spirit and the power of God as anything else than the Word, who is also the firstborn of God." To Justin δύναμις θεοῦ and πνεῦμα ἅγιον have essentially the same nature. The Logos as Holy Spirit is apparently derived from Palestinian Judaism, whereas the Logos as δύναμις θεοῦ is more or less a Platonic expression. Justin used the term Holy Spirit, but without distinguishing it from the δύναμις θεοῦ.[I]

Two problems which arise in most minds concerning the incarnation of the Logos in Christ are, first, why was it necessary for God to reveal His will and truth through Christ when He had already done so through the prophets; and second, why did the Logos become incarnated ?

God had to reveal Himself, His Will and truth through Christ the Logos because the world failed to recognize His essential nature and His will for men. Justin knew that the Jews had failed to see the true nature of God and His activity even in his own day, so he went far back into Hebrew history to prove the reality of the pre-incarnate Christ, the Logos, who was the true messenger of the transcendent God.

I. In Justin's writings the Spirit had no peculiar function as distinct from the Logos or Son; consequently his doctrine of the Trinity has less significance. This doctrine was really developed later by Tertullian.

Justin, quoting from the Old Testament, says, "Israel hath not known me, my people hath not understood me" (Isa.I,3). God had revealed His will and truth to past generations, but they ignored the true God. Justin says further, "The Jews then were always thinking that the Father of all things spoke to Moses. But He who spake to him being the Son of God, who is called both Angel and Apostle."[I] To justin's mind the transcendent God has a majestic nature. He is supremely good and just. He can be revealed and seen only through a Mediator. To Justin this Mediator is the pre-incarnate Christ the Logos. The angels who appeared in the theophanies were second gods, the functioners of the Divine Will. Justin's interpretation of the activity of the pre-incarnate Christ before the Christian era has great meaning in the Logos philosophy because he interpreted the Logos not only as it appeared in the Hebrew religion but also in heathen religous thought. He did this not because he wished to compromise with heathen religions, but only to confirm the truth, which is universal.

How to answer the second question, why did the Logos become incarnated ? Justin's theory of the incarnation is closely related to that of the immanence of God. Time after time he insisted that the Logos, the incarnated-Christ, has the same nature as God the Father, and thus He became incarnated in human form because it was the will of the Transcendent God.

I. Apologies, I, 63.

In Apology, II, IO, Justin says, "Our doctrine, then, appears to be greater than all human teaching because Christ, who appeared for our sakes, became the whole rational being, both body, and reason, and soul"; and "He is the power of the ineffable Father, and not the mere instrument of human reason."

Justin conceived that man is composed of body, soul, and spirit or Logos. Christ, who took a human form, was also body, soul, and spirit, but in Christ it was the Logos becoming man. So we are now ready to believe that Christ is not a part, but the whole, of the Logos. The Christ was truly a man. He became a man among men (ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀνθρώποις),[1] but not a man from men (ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων); so he argues in the Dialogue.[2] His blood was not from the human race but from the power of God. He had no real blood relationship with the human race. He is, as expressed in the Epistle to the Hebrews, ἀπάτωρ and ἄμητωρ.[3] This does not mean that He had no real flesh and blood, but that His coming is not by the will of man, but by the will of God only. The purpose of this incarnation is, as Justin said, "for our sakes". The Logos, the incarnate Christ, appeared to fulfill the Divine Will on earth, and to reveal the Word of God to man.

Justin maintained strictly the transcendent nature of God, and at the same time laid stress upon the existence of the

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I. Apologies, I,23.
2. Dialogue, 76,2; 54,2.
3. Apologies, I,66 & 22; Dialogue, 84,2; 88,2.

second God or Logos; he made the Logos, the incarnate Christ, the central doctrine in the Christian faith. He opposed the Ebionites, who rejected the deity of Christ, and also the Gnostics, who held the theory of emanation and the depreciation of the material world. Justin's Logos doctrine was a challenge to both of these cults. To the former he argued through the god of angels who appeared in theophanies; and to the latter he attempted to show Christ's life purified by the will of God. So Justin's idea of the pre-existent Logos influenced the whole world of theological thought during the second and third centuries.

Justin's Logos doctrine laid a strong foundation, both philosophical and spiritual, for later Christology. He was followed by Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Methodius, Athanasius and John of Damascus. Of all of these, Origen followed Justin most closely.

VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It was fortunate for Christianity to have had an eager apologist like Justin Martyr, who had a deep philosophical background together with a spirit of utmost devotion. In him are found both rational and mystical experience. His religious ideas were not the mere product of speculative philosophy, but were the outcome of a rational yet mystical religious experience. He was the type of man who really sought the truth. "Seek, and ye shall find the truth," was actually experienced by him. With a comprehensive philosophical understanding Justin was able to examine the sacred Scriptures with both a devotional and a critical attitude. He found immeasurable values in the Old Testament and stood courageously for the defense of Christianity, for the Christians were sffering at the hand of the State, as well as from the attacks of many current cults, especially Ebionism and Gnosticism.

Justin sought to prove that Christians are not atheists. Christ, to whom the Christian pay so great tribute and honor, is the Son of God. He is the Logos-incarnate-Christ who formerly appeared in the theophanies. He is the eternal outflowing from the Father God; consequently He has a nature corresponding to that of the Father. Christ was with us even before the Christian era, but the world knew not that He was the Σύναρις which came out from God the Father. Justin labored to prove

that He existed even before the Christian era, and tried to prove both the divinity and the sonship of Jesus Christ, who is the incarnation of the Logos.

Justin's Logos doctrine has its chief significance in his cosmology which is the revelation of the Divine essence as well as His will on earth. Christ is the entire λόγος σπερματικός, whereas man has only a part of it. He is the growing principle, the source of the eternal life and truth. Justin did not make a clear distinction between the Logos and the Holy Spirit; instead he identified them.

Justin was followed by Tatian and Athenagoras. Tatian says, "By His simple will the Logos springs forth." Athenagoras says, "The Logos is from eternity potentially in God, and came forth to be the idea and energizing power of all material things." Theophilus distinguished the eternal Logos from the Logos expressed. The former is said not to be distinguishable from God in mind and thought. But in Irenaeus the Logos is interpreted after the manner of the Forth Gospel. Irenaeus also learned the incarnate theory of the Logos in particular from the apologists. To him Christ is the only begotten Son of God, the Logos, through whom God reveals himself. He is forever with the Father.

Tertullian thinks of the Son as of the essence of the Father, proceeding from him, not by emanation, as the Gnostics taught, nor yet by self-projection or "evolution". The Son, or Logos,

is eternal, and is the Reason and Word of God. The Logos is inseparable from God like the Sun and its ray.[1]

Clement of Alexandria thinks the Logos is the Revealer, first in the creation, in which the Logos takes part, by whom wisdom is stamped upon it. However, Clement stresses Reason, the Reason which guides man to salvation and the good life. To him salvation is a divine gift, not a human achievement.

Origen thinks that the Mediator between God and the world, through whom the world is made, is the Logos. In the Logos are all the ideas which exist in an inscrutable unity in the Father, and are embodied in creation. The Logos is personal and without beginning. He is generated of the Father, but this generation is eternal.[2] He also thinks that the personal Son or the Logos is the complete manifestation of the hidden Deity. He is the wisdom of God.

In the Logos philosophy we find roughly three streams. The first interprets the Logos as a being separated from God, and regards Him as a mediating function. Philo took this position. The angelic gods are the high priests who come before God to make intercession for the creation. They are the image of God the Father, but not the eternal as interpreted in Justin's Logos doctrine.

The second tendency is the Logos doctrine of St.John and St.Ignatius, who identified the historical person of Jesus Christ with the pre-existent Divine Word. They regarded the

I. Adv. Prax. 8,9.
2. De Princip. I,II,2&4.

Incarnation as primarily a revelation of the Father.

The third tendency is the position which was taken by the Apologists who adopted the idea of the Fourth Gospel, and developed their doctrine of the Logos in the sense of the Divine Reason. For them the Logos is especially the creative reason, the divine intelligence as expressed in the creation.

Justin's doctrine has great significance in the Logos theology because it unites the Father and Son, Christ the Logos; and the Logos of Justin is also the outflowing of the eternal δύναμις from God the Father. He formulated his doctrine on the basis of the divine personality, uniting the ideas of both Philo and the Fourth Gospel. The Christ-Logos represents God's nature and reveals His will and work. Justin interprets the Logos as the supreme Divine Reason, Intelligence, Wisdom, Glory, Power and as the Son of God. This conception interprets the cosmic activity of God the Father, It reveals the place of Christ in creation and in cosmic evolution. Justin conceived of the universality of the Logos. He found His activity not only in the Christian world, but also in heathen religions. The Divine Wisdom, Reason, Power and Glory are manifested in the whole universe. Any one who lives in accordance with this divine reason is, according to, Justin, a Christian. This universality of Justin's Logos doctrine has special significance because it reveals the universality of God and His world-wide care.

The Tao is an expression of the Oriental idea of the Logos.

It means the light of the world as well as of men. It is the road to salvation, eternal happiness and peace. Tao is the guiding principle of men as well as of the universe. Everything is moving in accordance with it, and consequently to contradict it means suffering or death, (spiritually). The only difference between the oriental and the western conceptions is that the former is impersonal, whereas the latter is personal.

Dr. W. Sanday, criticizing the Logos doctrine of the apologists says," They emphasized cosmology at the expense of soteriology, the work of Christ in creation at the expense of His work in redemption." [I] This criticism is just, but one thing which we must consider in relation to the Logos doctrine of Justin is that the cosmological approach to God was more or less prevailing thought of the time. Justin surely did emphasize the cosmological interpretation of Christ, but that does not mean that he disregarded the saving will of God. To Justin the cross was a great symbol of divine power, activity and salvation. Jesus is the totality of the Logos; Man has only a part of it. This means that the Logos is in us also. Our salvation begins when the Logos within us takes an upward movement by accepting the Logos-incarnate-Christ. Justin did not greatly stress baptism, but rather repentance. It is this repentance which brings the true Reason home to men's hearts.

I. Sanday, W. "Christology of Ancient and Modern Times", P.I.

Both Loofs and Harnack speak in favor of Justin's Logos doctrine because he laid the foundation for the transformation of Christianity into a revealed doctrine, and found in it the source of all moral and spiritual excellence as well as the activity of the divine intelligence.[1]

The Logos doctrine has now a pre-eminent place in Christian theology. It greatly enlightens human thought especially in relation to the metaphysical nature of God. The present transcendence-immanence conception of God has its root in part in the Logos doctrine. The doctrine gives the most intelligible interpretation of God the Father and His Son, God's relationship to the created world, and also to the theory of the divine activity in man, that is the activity of the knowing process or the understanding of the truth. It may be interpreted as the true spiritual activity within men.

"The chief defect of the Logos doctrine", as E.F.Scott says, "is its over emphasis on the metaphysical nature of the Logos concept.[2] It is the revelation of essence, and tends to disregard the revelation of love, the fatherhood of God, His goodness and His saving will. However such a tendency is inescapable because of the emphasis on the rational principle of God, but it also reveals the love of God, His goodness and saving will as well.

Justin's chief defect is his over emphasis on the autho-

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1. Harnack,A. "History of Dogma" Vol.II.P.220 ff.
2. Scott,E.F. "The Gospel and Its Tributaries" P.168.

rity of the Old Testament. He holds that Plato borrowed his thought from Moses. But this is impossible because the Greek and Hebrew minds are quite different. Justin made this point because he wished to demonstrate the authority and value of the Old Testament. He quotes from Plato very often, which shows his thorough acquaintance with Platonic philosophy, and interprets God in Platonic fashion. This interpretation of God and the Logos laid a strong intellectual foundation for Christian theology. Justin's tireless labor in interpreting the divinity and sonship of Christ, as well as the Logos as the Divine Reason, Wisdom, Power and Glory now occupies an undying place in the Philosophy of Religion.

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